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ISAAC N. WHITING: PIONEER BOOKSELLER AND PUBLISHER OF COLUMBUS, OHIO

by **GERALD S. GREENBERG**

Books, when properly used, constitute our best fortune, our truest friends, and most comfortable companions. They teach us in what manner to enjoy pleasures and in what manner to bear adversity. They visit us without intrusion, and they converse with us without restraint.

from Isaac N. Whiting's General Catalogue of Books in the Various Departments of Literature and Science for Sale at His Book Store, High Street, Columbus (1833).

From 1829 until his death in 1880, Isaac Whiting's name meant books in Columbus, Ohio. One of the first booksellers in the state, he established bookselling as a central Ohio enterprise, and dominated the field into the 1840s. Whiting also greatly influenced bookselling throughout the West. His business was the training-ground for H. W. Derby who, after clerking for Whiting, purchased part of his stock, establishing a firm that would soon relocate to become the dominant book house in Cincinnati. Similarly, Derby served as mentor to D. B. Cooke who proceeded to found the book-publishing firm of Keen & Cooke in Chicago.

Among the earliest of western book publishers, Whiting's imprint can be found on public documents, political tracts, speeches, histories, liturgies and legal treatises throughout the 1830s, '40s and '50s. While compelled by economic necessity to deal in non-book commodities such as stationery and cutlery academic and legal works remained the backbone of Whiting's business for over fifty years.

BEGINNINGS

Isaac Newton Whiting was born in Westford, Massachusetts, Middlesex County, on 2 December 1799, the son of Lucy (Hildreth) and William Whiting. He migrated to Ohio in 1825 after becoming interested in the Episcopal Church, and deciding to attend the Theological Seminary of Bishop Chase in Worthington. Poor health caused him to discontinue his studies, but he went on to organize Sunday schools in Worthington, Delaware, Berkshire and Columbus. In 1829 he opened the first regular bookstore in Columbus.¹

Whiting was not, however, the first person in Columbus to sell books. As early as 1818 Samuel Barr & Co. included books in the stock sold at their general store which featured groceries and hardware.² But Whiting's was the first store in Columbus whose principal commodity was books. Located on the same South High Street block with the businesses of

Columbus pioneers Joel Buttles and Lincoln Goodale, Whiting soon found it necessary to stock knives, razors, scissors, pencils, wallets, snuff boxes, soaps and mathematical instruments in order to ensure economic viability. By 1831 Whiting's advertisement in the *Ohio State Journal* was prominently detailing his line of stationery and office supplies which included blank books with Russia bands manufactured in New York, double-entry journals, blotters, court records, memorandum books, gold-edged paper, quills and ink.³

The year 1831 also saw I. N. Whiting's name appear as publisher of at least two books: *Remarks Made on a Tour to Prairie Du Chien Thence to Washington City in 1829* by Circleville, Ohio pioneer and author Caleb Atwater (1778-1867), and *The Excellency of the Liturgy: Four Discourses Preached Before the University of Cambridge in November, 1811* by Rev. Charles Simeon (1759-1836), Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. The former, commonly referred to as 'Atwater's Tour', describes a trip from Circleville, Ohio by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to Prairie Du Chien, Wisconsin. Atwater reported on features of the land, the native population and their culture, and future prospects for the region. From Prairie Du Chien, Atwater proceeded overland to Washington, D.C., where he spent the winter. Whiting offered the book, neatly bound, for one dollar.

Whiting was also active early in the school-book trade. He was offering both classical and common school-books for sale, wholesale or retail, by 1831. Issued a licence by William Webster, son of Noah, Whiting published 20,000 copies of the Webster spelling book in 1838.⁴

One could also purchase an entire body of historical knowledge at Whiting's bookstore, for Whiting sold Harper's Family Library - either in separate volumes, or as a set. The Family Library was a numbered series of books focusing especially on biographies of outstanding historical figures (Napoleon, Lord Nelson, Alexander the Great, Lord Byron, Mohammed, Sir Isaac Newton), histories (of the Jews, the Bible, chivalry and the Crusades, Poland), and accounts of foreign and exotic lands (the polar regions, Palestine, Egypt, the Niger, Venice). The Family Library enjoyed great popularity. Whiting's advertisement of 2 February 1833 announced that the Library would continue to be expanded: 'From the distinguished favor with which the Family Library has been received, the proprietors feel themselves stimulated to increased exertions.' In selecting additional volumes, readers were assured, public morality would be a prime consideration: The utmost care will be taken, not only to exclude whatever can have an injurious influence on the mind, but to embrace everything calculated to strengthen the best and most salutary impressions.⁵

Whiting carried a full line of theological works: Bibles (Old and New Testaments), hymn-books, expositions and commentaries. He personally remained active in the Episcopal Church, organizing Columbus's St Paul's parish in 1842.⁶ In December 1831 Whiting's advertisements featured a Pocket Dictionary of the Holy Bible by Archibald Alexander, prepared for the American Sabbath School Union. It contained historical and geographical accounts of persons and places mentioned in the Scriptures as well as descriptions of religious, civil and military objects of the biblical era. In 1833 Whiting announced that his bookstore had become a depository for both the American Sunday School Union (headquartered in Philadelphia) and the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union. As such, Whiting was quickly and regularly supplied with the publications of both organizations.⁷

Law books would always represent an important part of Whiting's business, especially in the later years. Early on, Whiting carried both *Ohio* and *Hammond's Reports*, *Ecclesiastical Reports*, *Chancery Reports* and *Kent's Commentaries*, providing lawyers with organized, systematic accounts and analyses of court decisions locally, nationally and abroad. Throughout

the 1830s Whiting would add works such as *Harrisons Digest*, detailing all cases reported in Britain's House of Lords, *Judge Wright's Reports* featuring decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and *Wendell's Digest*, reporting cases in New York's Supreme Court.

Whiting's medical books covered everything from the standard works of the day (Good's *Study of Medicine*) to the reformist (Beach's *American Practice of Medicine*, 'being a treatise on the character, causes, symptoms, morbid appearances, and treatment of the diseases of men, women, and children of all climates on vegetable and botanical principles...')⁸ to the adventuresome (German-born neuroscientist Johann Gaspar Spurzheim's (1776-1832) *Phrenology, or the Doctrine of Mental Phenomena*). Once again, Whiting's holdings took notice of happenings on the 'cultured continent'. Isaac Hays's *Cyclopedia of Practical Medicine and Surgery* proudly stated that it borrowed freely from the *Dictionnaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie Pratiques* and the *Encyclopädisches Wörterbuch der Medicinischen Wissenschaften* [sic].

Whiting's collection also featured the practical. There was William Prince's *A Short Treatise on Horticulture* (1828), describing many varieties of fruit and ornamental trees and shrubs; pomological manuals; Thomas Green Fessenden's *The New American Gardener* (1828), which discussed landscape and ornamental gardening, grapevines, silk and strawberries; and J. H. Cobb's *Manual on the Growth of the Mulberry Tree*. Whiting also carried *The Mechanic's Companion or Elements and Practice of Carpentry, Joinery, Bricklaying Masonry, Slating, Plastering, Painting, Smithing, and Turning* - a volume any western pioneer might well find indispensable. Farmers could locate H. L. Barnum's *The Farmer's Own Book, or Family Receipts for the Husbandman and Housewife* (1832) at Whiting's bookstore. This book included rules for keeping farm accounts for 'There is economy as well as comfort in a regular mode of doing business.'⁹ Whiting also stocked a wide variety of almanacs, including the *Farmer's*, *Churchman's* (Episcopal), *Lusk's Columbus*, and the *Temperance*, as well as the famed *American Almanac and Repository for Useful Knowledge* about which Whiting's advertisement declared, 'It is got up as to mechanical execution very well.'¹⁰

Popular novels offered by Whiting included the works of Mrs (Frances Milton) Trollope (*The Abbess, A Romance*, 1833), Caroline Lee Hentz (*Lovell's Folly*, 1833), William Gilmore Simms (*Guy Rivers*, 1834), Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen, Edward Bulwer (Lytton), and Sir Walter Scott. Whiting also stocked the British literary classics: Shakespeare, Milton, Coleridge, Byron, Burns, Pope and Cowper.

Whiting understood that formal education was far from a universal experience in early Ohio. As a result, he offered for sale Josiah Holbrook's 'Family Apparatus' - a box filled with small games, maps, lettered and pictured blocks, and figures intended to facilitate self-instruction. Holbrook was the founder of the American Lyceum system of instruction which manufactured educational toys purporting to allow children to teach themselves to read. The Family Apparatus was 'particularly applicable in connection with circuit schools ... [and] as a substitute for the schools in families which cannot enjoy them.' So declared the *New York Weekly Messenger* in a testimonial.¹¹

Isaac Whiting did not long maintain a local monopoly in the book business. His first serious competitors were B. & J. Turnbull, who advertised their presence in March 1832 and remained an aggressive rival until 1834. Turnbull also maintained a bookstore in Steubenville. Other early Columbus book dealers were Morris Butler, J. B. Crist and Monroe Bell.

COLUMBUS'S FOREMOST BOOKMAN

The 8 December 1837 issue of the *Ohio State Journal and Political Register*¹² announced 'New and Valuable Books' offered by Isaac N. Whiting, Bookseller and Publisher, No. 32 High Street, Columbus. Works in theology, law, medicine and history had been purchased by the proprietor at low prices in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Standard works in literature and school-books were also available, in addition to a 'general assortment of miscellaneous publications of the day.' By 1837 Whiting had been in business eight years. He enjoyed the status of one of the founding businessmen of the city. School boards, clergymen, attorneys and physicians as well as the general reader came to Whiting for their books. Whiting regularly used the *Ohio State Journals* pages to announce and describe the latest volumes he was offering for sale. At the end of 1837 many of these were scientific: London Geological Society president Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, as well as William Buckland's *Bridgetvater Treatises*, featuring volumes on chemistry, astronomy, physiology (human and animal), geology and mineralogy.¹³ Whiting was also offering the *Ohio Gazetteer and Traveler's Guide*, containing information on townships, watercourses, roads, minerals and post offices in the state.

Not only was Whiting a regular and prodigious patron of the *Journals* advertising columns, but he also shared the newspaper's political sentiments. Both the bookseller and the editor firmly associated - the party whose motto might well have been expressed as 'business should go on'¹⁴ While the *Journal* consistently urged support for Whig candidates, Whiting stocked and advertised pro-Whig publications exclusively. George Denison Prentice's complimentary *Biography of Henry Clay* (1831) appeared among Whiting's advertised offerings in 1832. More dramatically, in 1838, Whiting began selling Robert Mays's *A Chapter of Sketches on Finance Showing the Train of Insidious Forces by Which the Removal of the Deposites from the U.S. Bank was Effected*, as well as Thomas Gordon's *The War on the U.S. Bank or a Review of Measures of the Late Administration vs. That Institution and the Prosperity of This Country*.¹⁵ Not only do these titles alone make crystal clear the partisan nature of the publication, but no opposition literature is ever advertised during this period.

Whiting's warm relationship with the *Journal* is further demonstrated in the occasional testimonials offered by the newspaper on behalf of books sold or published by Whiting. Such was the case in 1834 when 'the enterprising... citizen, Mr. Isaac N. Whiting...' provided the *Journal* with a complimentary copy of his newest publication, the first American edition of William Shepherd's *History of the American Revolution*, previously published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in London. The newspaper reported that it found the book '... impartial... divested of superfluous panegyric ...' and 'written with perspicuity and ease ...'¹⁶ On another occasion, the newspaper politely, but without further comment, acknowledged receipt of a copy of the *Temperance Almanac for 1835* published by the New York State Temperance Society in Albany.¹⁷

By 1838 Whiting's stock embraced a wider academic field than ever. Included were portrait art (James Herring's and James Longacre's *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, 1834), forestry (Daniel Browne's *Sylva Americana, or A Description of the Forest Trees Indigenous to the United States*, 1832), and penmanship (*Forster's Elementary Copy-Books*). While Whiting's scientific holdings continued to expand, theology clearly circumscribed any natural inquiry into the origins of the universe. British scientific writer Thomas Dick's (1774-1857) *Celestial Scenery, or The Wonders of the Planetary System Displayed, Illustrating*

the Perfections of the Deity and a Plurality of Worlds (1838), offered by Whiting, is a case in point; The Heavens declare the Glory of God¹⁸ in Duncan Bradford's *The Wonder of the Heavens*, another volume advertised by Whiting. Physiology as well as astronomy bowed to religion, as demonstrated in Peter Roget's *Animal and Vegetable Physiology: Considered with Reference to Natural Theology* (1836), the fifth of the *Bridgewater Treatises*, designed to establish 'the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as manifested in the creation' (stated in Whiting's advertisement of 12 September 1838, *Journal*, p.4).

The first of Whiting's annual holiday advertisements appeared on 21 December 1838 (*Journal*, p.2). Columbus's bookman suggested his fellow citizens examine his 'Splendid London Works' while selecting their Christmas and New Year's presents. These included Miss Landon's *The Drawing Room Scrap Book*, Ackerman's *Forget Me Not for 1833*, *The Flowers of Loveliness* (An Assemblage of Female Beauty), *The Christmas Keepsake and Missionary Annual for 1839*, and the *Lady's Cabinet Album*.

Whiting's musical volumes included British musical composer William Gardiner's (1770-1853) *The Music of Nature, or an Attempt to Prove What is Passionate and Pleasing in the Art of Singing, Speaking, and Performing upon Musical Instruments, as Derived from the Sounds of the World* (1837), as well as an extensive variety of religious music. Among the sacred music could be found *The Boston Academy's Collection of Church Music* (1836), *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society's Collection* (1836), *Bridgewater's Collection of Sacred Music*, and the *Manhattan Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes and Anthems*.¹⁹

After eight busy, successful years in the book trade, Whiting was interested in hiring a young assistant. Using the pages of the *Ohio State Journal* once again, Whiting placed the following advertisement which appeared on 10 February 1837 (p.3): 'A Youth Wanted - active, intelligent, 15-18 yrs. old who would desire to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the book business with a view of making it his future occupation. None other need make application, nor anyone who cannot bring the most unexceptionable recommendation as to moral character and business capacity. To one giving satisfaction a permanent and rewarding situation can be obtained.' It is not unlikely that Henry William Derby of Herkimer County, New York saw just such an advertisement upon arriving in Ohio about this time, for by 1838, at the age of eighteen, he had begun working as Whiting's clerk. H. W. Derby was one of four brothers, all of whom were involved in bookselling and publishing.²⁰ Whatever his other qualifications, it is likely that Whiting found Derby active, intelligent, and desirous of learning the business, for within three years the young apprentice purchased six thousand dollars' worth of his boss's stock and went into business for himself.²¹

During the time Derby worked for Whiting, advertisements for the 'people's libraries' - the *Encyclopedia Americana* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature* were placed by the Columbus bookseller. Laudatory testimonials from the *New York Mirror* ('... a library in itself...') and the *Baltimore American* accompanied the *Americana* advertisement,²² while the eighteen-volume *Britannica* (3rd edition) was said to contain 542 copperplate engravings.²³ The *Encyclopedia of Geography* (1837) was also offered by Whiting. Containing a complete physical, statistical, civil and political description of the earth, the principal author was geographer Hugh Murray (1779-1846), assisted by mathematician and Edinburgh University Professor William Wallace, 1768-1843 (Astronomy); mineralogist and Edinburgh University Professor Robert Jameson, 1774-1854 (Geology); Glasgow University Professor Sir William Jackson Hooker, 1785-1865 (Botany); and naturalist William Swainson, 1789-1855 (Zoology).

Also during this time, Whiting advertised for sale the popular Eclectic School Books of Truman & Smith in Cincinnati.²⁴ With nearly half a million copies published in a matter of a few years, this series, which included *Ray's Arithmetic*, *Miss Beechers Moral Instructor*, and *Mansfield's Political Grammar*, as well as the famous *McGuffey Reader*, was unmatched in popularity by any of the eastern publishers.²⁵

The presidential candidacy of William Henry Harrison in the election of 1840 presented Isaac Whiting with new publishing opportunities. The *Ohio State Journal*, which had been touting the Harrison/Tyler ticket since its formation, was undoubtedly pleased to be the vehicle for Whiting's announcement of 20 May 1840 (p.4) that he had 'this day published *Sketches of the Civil and Military Services of William Henry Harrison*'. Authored by Charles Stewart Todd, former Inspector General of the US Army, and Benjamin Drake of Cincinnati, the 165-page publication had been directed by the Harrison Executive Committee of Hamilton County. This work has been got up with great care, in a neat style, and is particularly recommended to the friends of Harrison and Reform.' stated the advertisement. Copies would be sold for 25 cents each, \$2.25 per dozen.

Isaac Whiting's most widely known publication, however, and probably his most successful, was not his *Sketches of Harrison*, but rather his *Harrison and Log Cabin Song Book*, also issued in 1840. D. B. Cooke, H. W. Derby's apprentice, well remembered the little volume when recalling the Columbus book trade thirty-six years later.²⁶ This miniature collection of Whig campaign songs (without music) was emblematic of the populist nature of Harrison's appeal. The tiny book, a mere fourteen by nine centimetres, easily fitted into one's hand. It contained 105 pages of original pro-Harrison lyrics to be sung to familiar folk tunes. The following is an illustration:

The Hero Ploughman [p.49]
Tune - *Yankee Doodle*

Then for the ploughman we'll array
Our gallant Buckeye forces -
Van Buren's collar men KK*
They soon will fly their courses.

* (means can't come it)

Harrison, the ploughman, we are told, is Ohio's choice over the Jacksonian Democrat, Van Buren. Other offerings included 'A Song of an Old Soldier' (sung to the tune of *Old Oaken Bucket*) and 'The Farmer of North Bend' (to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne*). Printed at the Straight Out Harrison and Tyler office, the inscription on the back cover reads,

Go it Harrison,
Come it Tyler,
And we'll burst
Van Buren's biler.

Burst it they did, figuratively speaking, but Harrison's victory at the polls proved short-lived when the first Whig president died after only one month in office.

Isaac Whiting's place in Columbus, however, seemed permanent. He had married Orrell Kilbourne, daughter of Worthington, Ohio founder Colonel James Kilbourne, on 7 September 1835, and by 1840 had a son, Augustus Newton Kilbourne Whiting. The first Whiting home in Columbus, at High and Chapel Streets, was replaced by a new residence built at 66 South 3rd Street in 1841, construction which may well have been financed by the sale of a large part of the business to H. W. Derby, Whiting's ambitious, twenty-one-year-old clerk. By so doing, Whiting would remove himself from the position of dominant bookseller in Columbus, for though Derby would remain in the city only three years, before moving to Cincinnati, there would be no shortage of new, energetic entrepreneurs vying for their share of the market once controlled by I. N. Whiting.

Henry W. Derby, Bookseller and Stationer, has this day opened an establishment where he will keep constantly for sale an assortment of Theological, Law, Medical and Miscellaneous books; School and Classical Books - all the kinds in use - Blank Books and paper of every description. Also a large assortment of English and American stationery. All of which he will sell Wholesale or Retail on as good terms as can be obtained West of New York.

So read the *Ohio State Journal* advertisement placed on 9 July 1841, announcing H. W. Derby's arrival as an independent bookman in Columbus. Among Derby's advertised offerings was historian and biographer Edward Deering Mansfield's *Eulogy on William Henry Harrison*.²⁷

While Isaac Whiting would no longer dominate bookselling in Columbus, his presence in the city was far from over. Within four months of his sale to Derby, Whiting formed a partnership with twenty-nine-year-old Connecticut native H. F. Huntington which was to last twelve years. Whiting & Huntington would be one of the best-known book firms in the city during that period.

The first years following formation of the Whiting/Huntington partnership were very active ones for Whiting the publisher. On 3 November 1841 Whiting announced in the *Journal* (p.3) his publication of Noah Webster's *History of the United States*, to which the author prefaced an account of English ancestry 'from the dispersion at Babel' to the settlement of the New World. Proclaiming the unique character of this work, the advertisement credits Webster with demonstrating the origin of the races of man, the fact that Persia was the source of the English and German nations, and the culture of the English's ancestors 'in their uncivilized state in Germany.' The Anglo-Saxon and Danish conquests of England, the conversion of the conquerors to Christianity, as well as the Spanish conquest of South America, are also discussed.

On 13 July 1842 Whiting announced his publication of the third edition of *Swan's Treatise*,²⁸ a legal volume enunciating the powers and duties of Justices of the Peace and Constables in Ohio, written by Joseph Rockwell Swan (1802-84), president of the twelfth judicial circuit. Whiting had published the first and second editions, in 1837 and 1839 respectively, and was to publish the fourth in 1850 before Derby took over the job in Cincinnati. Continual revision of existing state statutes guaranteed that the *Treatise* would require a new edition every few years. (The twelfth edition was published by Derby's successor, Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati in 1885.)

On 21 December Whiting announced that Swan's *Manual for Executors and Administrators* was in press, to be published in January.²⁹ Valuable for settling estates of the deceased, this legal volume was to undergo regular revision as well. Whiting would publish each

new edition through to the fifth (1859).

While Whiting & Huntington's book advertisements appeared regularly in the *Ohio State Journal* during the firm's first year, they were by no means as frequent or lengthy as Whiting's previous announcements which bore some resemblance to mini-catalogues. During this period as well, H. W. Derby's advertisements were quite prominent in the *Journal*, attracting the reader at least as much as Whiting's. If nothing else, Derby had learned from Whiting the value of advertising.

Among the books offered for sale by Whiting & Huntington in their early years were several critiques of Catholicism: former Trinity College Master, mathematician, classical scholar and Anglican preacher Isaac Barrow's (1630-77) *Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy* (1680); *Five Sermons vs. Popery* by former Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Seeker (1693-1768); and George Stanley Faber's (1773-1854) *The Difficulties of Romanism* (1840). Medical works were also prominently featured: *Quain's Anatomical Plates* by anatomist Jones Quain (1796-1865) of the University of London and surgeon W. J. Erasmus Wilson, Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology at Middlesex Hospital, was proclaimed to be the '... cheapest work ever offered to the American public [on the subject].'³⁰ Also offered by Whiting & Huntington was *The Family Medical Library* extolling the value of regimen and simple medicines for the prevention and cure of diseases.³¹

Prominent among the reference works featured by Whiting & Huntington in 1843 was the English antiquary Rev. Thomas Dudley Fosbroke's (1770-1842) *Encyclopedia of Antiquities* which discussed classical and medieval archaeology. Also offered was *Mechanics Ohio Almanac for 1844* - 'the largest almanac ever sold' for six cents.³²

The presidential election year of 1844 saw Whiting & Huntington stock and advertise numerous Whig publications. For \$1.25 one could purchase the *Life and Speeches of Henry Clay*, spanning two volumes and 1,100 pages. Henry Jarvis Raymond (1820-69), editor and Whig politician, produced a memoir of Henry Clay for sale by Whiting & Huntington. Also offered were the *Speeches of Mr. Clay* containing a portrait, an illustration of the 'Great Compromiser's' birthplace and a facsimile of one of his letters;³³ the *Ashland Textbook* ('Bible' of the Clay Clubs), another collection of Clay's speeches; and the *Life and Public Services of Henry Clay* (1842) by journalist Epes Sargent (1813-80), former Washington correspondent for the *Boston Daily Atlas*.

In October 1844 Whiting's former clerk and chief competitor, H. W. Derby, left Columbus for Cincinnati. Having travelled throughout Ohio selling surplus books from the back of a wagon during periods when business was slow, Derby had observed that Cincinnati was accounting for an ever-increasing amount of his sales. As a result, Derby sold out to Joseph H. Riley who had learned the book business in the Philadelphia publishing house of Grigg & Elliot. The twenty-four-year-old Derby and his eighteen-year-old assistant, David Brainerd Cooke, arrived in Cincinnati on 13 October 1844 to establish the firm of Derby, Bradley & Co. at 113 Main Street. Charles F. Bradley, Derby's new partner, had been associated with the New York publishing house of Daniel Appleton & Co.³⁴ By 27 November advertisements for Riley's Bookstore were appearing in the *Ohio State Journal*. Derby's advertisements continued to appear in the *Journal* as well (now touting his Cincinnati store),³⁵ further indicative of the steady shift in book trade from Columbus to Cincinnati.

Joseph H. Riley, Derby's successor, located at 109 South High Street, and Whiting & Huntington, at 129 South High Street, competed directly for Columbus's book and stationery business over the next seven years. During this period, Whiting & Huntington stressed the

strength of their legal collection, running advertisements in the *Journal* for Swan's *Practice and Treatise* continually as well as announcing sale of both Wilcox's *Digest of Ohio Reports* (1848 edition published by Whiting) containing forms of pleadings in most actions, and the *Supplement to Wilcox's Digest* (also published by Whiting) covering *Ohio Reports*, vols. 13-16. Whiting & Huntington also carried the *Constable's and Township Officer's Guide* by Humphrey H. Leavitt, US District (Ohio) Court Judge.³⁶

Non-legal volumes prominently featured during this period included *Harper's Illuminated Bible* (no. 38); *The American Shepherd* containing the complete history of sheep; *Rowlett's Tables of Discount*, of interest to banks, all of which were mandated by law to compute interest according to these tables; and *The Farmer's Library* featuring *Agricultural Chemistry and Principles of Agriculture*; Henry Stephens's (1795-1874) *Book of the Farm* (describing the work of the farmer, steward, ploughman, hedger, cattleman, shepherd, fieldworker and dairymaid); and the *Farmer's Library and Monthly Journal*, edited by agricultural writer John Stuart Skinner (1788-1851).³⁷

In 1848 Whiting & Huntington used the *Columbus City Directory* to advertise their new book bindery. They also announced they were now manufacturing blank books, and (with the aid of an excellent ruling machine) court and county records. Among the book announcements in the 7 June *Journal* (p.4), Whiting & Huntington proudly offered for sale Ratcliff's Improved Patent Leather Clips and invoice files. Non-book commerce would occupy a larger part of all Columbus booksellers' attention in the years to come.

On 14 June Whiting & Huntington announced that G. & C. Merriam had named them General Agents for Central Ohio's sale of *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* as revised, enlarged and improved by author and Yale Professor Charles Augustus Goodrich (1790-1862). The single volume sold for \$6.00.³⁸ Also featured at this time was *A Practical Treatise on Railroads and Locomotive Engines* by one Luke Hibert, Edward D. Mansfield's *Mexican War* (1848), and both Alphonso Wood's (1810-81) and Asa Gray's (1810-88) botanical works. Medical volumes included Fleetwood Churchill's (1808-78) *On the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* (1848) and Francis Henry Ramsbotham's (1800-68) work on the process of parturition.

June 1848 also marked Whiting's most exotic commercial adventure. The pioneer bookseller briefly served as purveyor of Graefenburg's Vegetable Pills, touted as good 'for all bilious complaints, general derangement of the system, all disorders from bad state of the blood, [and] chronic diseases (asthma, cough, fever, consumption)'.³⁹ As agents for the New York patent medicine firm, Whiting & Huntington dispensed the pills for twenty-five cents a box. In addition to the vegetable pills (of which, according to the advertisement, 20,000 boxes were sold each week), Graefenburg medicines produced Health Bitters, Sarsparilla Compound, Eye Lotion, Children's Panacea, Green Mountain Ointment, Consumptive's Balm and Dysentery Syrup, all of which were available from Whiting & Huntington (who were also authorized to appoint sub-agents).⁴⁰ Apparently, however, the Graefenburg - Whiting connection was not enduring, for one reads nothing further of it.

By 1850 Isaac Whiting, aged 51, was an established bookseller, enjoying life at his Third Street home with wife Orrell and son Augustus Newton. He headed a household which included six guests, among them R. M. Charborne, an Episcopal minister, and owned real estate valued at \$25,000. H. F. Huntington, Whiting's thirty-eight-year-old partner, owned land worth \$8,000.⁴¹

New works offered by Whiting & Huntington in 1850 included *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* by Benson John Lossing (1813-91). Five years in the making, Lossing travelled over 8,000 miles in the US and Canada crafting the pen and pencil illustrations of American

revolutionary scenery and relics.⁴² William Chauncey Fowler's *The English Language in its Elements and Forms* and the *History of Xerxes the Great* by Jacob Abbott (1803-79), emphasizing the causes of human action in history, also appeared for the first time.⁴³

Joseph J. Riley & Company (partner, Joseph Sullivant) became the most visible bookseller in Columbus in the 1850s. Not only did Riley's advertisements in the *Journal* grow larger and more frequent, while Whiting's became sporadic, but Riley also diversified on a larger scale, offering for sale such items as paper hangings and borders, window shades and fixtures, window cornices, oil-paintings, engravings, cutlery, fans, steel goods, bags and purses, perfume and toilet cases, feather dusters, writing-desks, brushes (hair, teeth and nail), gold pens, card cases, wallets, mirrors, statuettes and terracotta vases.⁴⁴ The book scene in Columbus changed greatly during this period. In 1852 Whiting ended his partnership with Huntington, who proceeded to set himself up as a general agent and commission merchant on Town Street, near High. Two new bookstores appeared in 1853: (S. H.) Burr & (David A.) Randall and Pearson's Book Depot. While Pearson's tenure would be relatively shortlived, Randall's name would, in time, become as well known to Columbus residents as Whiting's.

WHITING THE PUBLISHER

For the remainder of the decade, Isaac N. Whiting, once again on his own, specialized in the publication and sale of legal works. Indicative of how book publication dominated this period of his business life, the listings for I. N. Whiting in the Columbus city directories for 1852-72 identify him solely as a publisher, not as a bookseller (though he did continue to sell books).

In August 1853 Whiting published the fifth edition of *Swan's Treatise*. Selling for \$3.00, the 630-page volume included an Act passed on 14 March relating to jurisdiction and procedure before Justices of the Peace, and the duties of Constables.⁴⁵ In September, the third edition of *Swans Manual for Executors and Administrators* was published by Whiting. Adapted to present practice by Columbus attorney Henry C. Noble, the 428-page volume sold for \$4.25.⁴⁶ Whiting was also offering for sale at this time the complete, twenty-volume set of the *Ohio Reports*. (He would also sell the first ten volumes separately.)

In 1854 Whiting relocated. No longer the premier Columbus bookseller, he opened a store above a business just south of booksellers Burr & Randall on High Street, between Town and State. The advertisement which announced the move to the public in the 4 March 1854 *Journal* (p.3) reminded the readership that Whiting still had in stock a few copies of the *History of Ohio Canals* 'from the first measures taken for their construction down to the close of the legislature of 1832...' In April, Whiting offered for sale the *Land Laws of Ohio*, a compilation of laws, resolutions, treaties and ordinances relating to state lands.⁴⁷

Dominating the *Journal's* book advertising at this time were the businesses of J. H. Riley, Burr & Randall and Pearson's Depot. By June 1854, however, the partnership of Burr & Randall had dissolved. S. H. Burr opened his own bookstore in the Ohio State Journal Building on the corner of High Street and Sugar Alley. Randall found two new associates, and emerged as Randall, (Isaac C.) Aston & Long. By mid-1855 Long had left, but the firm of Randall & Aston would become a Columbus fixture for many years. Yet Whiting's presence remained so familiar to Columbus citizens that for several years Randall & Aston would advertise their store's location at 109 South High as 'Whiting's Old Stand, Columbus, O.'⁴⁸

Throughout 1855-57 Randall & Aston, J. H. Riley and S. H. Burr dominated the Columbus book scene. New and rather short-lived bookstores such as Santmyer's and Kennedy's

(at 17 State Street) also appeared. On 30 April 1858 (*Journal*, p.1), Whiting let Columbus readers know he was still around. Once again his offerings were legal in nature. In addition to reiterating his holdings of *Swan's Practice*, *Land Laws of Ohio* and the *History of Ohio Canals*, Whiting announced for sale *Practical Forms in Actions Personal and Real and in Chancery* by T. B. Wilcox, and the *Ohio Supreme Court Reports* 'taken from the original minutes of John C. Wright.' The latter, selling for \$5.00, reported on 498 cases, only eight fewer than Hammond's *Ohio Reports*.

In 1858-59 two additional booksellers appeared in Columbus - J. H. Miller and Walcutts (located at 14 East Town Street). Randall & Aston continued to identify their location as 'Whiting's Old Stand' though their newspaper advertisements now placed their store at 99 South High Street. Isaac Whiting's advertisements continued to appear in the *Journal*, but with ever less frequency, throughout 1859-60. Specializing now in new editions of legal reference books as well as older, second-hand academic volumes, Whiting occupied a unique position in the ever more varied and diversified Columbus book trade. On 11 March 1859 (*Journal*, p.3), Whiting advertised for sale three old, inexpensive (\$0.50 - \$1.25 each) geological publications: the *Second Annual Report of the Geological Survey of the State of Ohio* (1838) by geologist William W. Mather (1804-59); the *Report of the Geological Reconnaissance of the State of Virginia* published between 1835-42 by geologist and educator William Barton Rogers (1804-82); and the *Geological Survey of the State of New Jersey* (1840) by geologist and educator Henry Darwin Rogers (1808-66), William's brother.

In August, I. N. Whiting announced publication of the fifth edition of *Swan's Manual* (the last one he would publish).⁴⁹ The same month, Randall & Aston opened a new store in the middle room of the Johnson Building at 109 South High, and E. K. Lundy, a bookseller specializing in religious books, made his appearance in Columbus. On 9 November (*Journal*, p.3) Joseph H. Riley declared he was selling out his stock and closing his business after fifteen years of bookselling. Far from vanishing from the Columbus book scene, however, Riley would open a publishing house with T. C. Bowles in October 1860 and, by 1862, was back in bookselling. Though he again announced a closing-down sale in 1864, Riley was still selling books and stationery as late as April 1866.

On 15 November 1859 Whiting advertised sale of two second-hand classics: a 37-volume set of the *Congressional and Executive Documents of the First and Second Sessions of the 23rd Congress*, and *Dr. Samuel Clarke's Sermons* in ten volumes by John Clarke. Also offered was (W. H.) Ranking's *Abstract of Medical Sciences*, a digest of European works. A new business advertised its presence at 'Whiting's Old Stand' (99 South High Street) on 30 December (*Journal*, p.3) - Miller & Lilley, specializing in 'notions, stationery, blank and school books.'

In 1860 Isaac N. Whiting's name would vanish from the pages of the *Ohio State Journal*, not to return for fifteen years. Before suspending his advertisements in November, Whiting would publish yet another new legal volume - *A Guide for Guardians* by F. J. Mathews, Judge of the Superior Court of Franklin County. He also continued to offer for sale such legal standards as *Swan's Treatise and Manual*, *The Officer's Guide*, and *The Township Officer's Manual*. In his last advertisement on 3 November (*Journal*, p.2), Whiting also offered Wilcox's *Ohio Forms and Practice*, Wright's *Ohio Supreme Court Reports*, and Chase's *Statutes of Ohio and the Northwest Territory (1788-1833)*. Advertisements for political publications in 1860 were most indicative of the position Whiting now occupied in the Columbus book trade. While Columbus publisher Follett, Foster & Co. were offering the *Lincoln - Douglas Debates* and the *Life of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin*⁵⁰ accompanied by the enthusiastic slogan 'Hurra for the Rail

Splitter,' I.N. Whiting was advertising a book published sixteen years earlier entitled *Defense of the Whigs* (though the party no longer existed) by 'a member of the 27th Congress.'⁵¹ (actually John Pendleton Kennedy, 1795-1870), consisting of *The Whig Party, Its Origin, Constancy, Success* (part I) and *The Whig Party, Its Disappointment, Retribution, Hopes* (part II). These publications would be sent by mail, postage prepaid.

The year 1860 was notable on the Columbus book scene for two other reasons: on 14 February (*Journal*, p.4) Randall & Aston ran their first wallpaper advertisement, introducing a product that would become a regular commodity at Columbus bookstores during the next two decades (eventually, in some cases, overshadowing the books), while in May, Robert Clarke & Co.'s advertisement in the *Ohio State Journal* signalled the end of H. W. Derby's Cincinnati bookstore. The newly-formed Clarke & Co. had bought out Derby late in 1858.⁵²

During the Civil War years, Randall & Aston were virtually the only Columbus booksellers who kept their names before the reading public. On 30 December 1861 (*Journal*, p.3) they advertised for sale *Patten's Army Manual* 'containing instructions for officers in preparation of rolls, accounts required of regimental and company commanders and pertaining to quartermaster departments.' Other war-related stock for sale included Manifold Copying Books 'for taking impressions on the field'⁵³ and war maps. American flags and bunting of muslin and silk were also frequently advertised. Diversionary reading offered during the war years by Randall & Aston included Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, *His Book* by humourist Artemus Ward (1834-67), Charles Lieb's *How to Make a Million*, and the satirical *Nasby Papers* by Petroleum V. Nasby (in reality, journalist David Ross Locke, 1833-88). One title reminiscent of Whiting's stock was advertised on 17 October 1864 (*Journal* p.1) - *The Practical Shepherd* (1863) by Henry Stephens Randall (1811-76). New products offered by bookstores during the war years included photograph albums and stereoscopic pictures.

Joseph H. Riley finally closed up shop at 199 South High Street in 1867 to be replaced by bookseller and stationer George W. Gleason, whose 'Opera house Bookstore' would be a Columbus fixture for the next decade. Gleason's line of merchandise would prove, in time, to be as diversified as Randall & Aston's. Gleason gave evidence that this would be the case when he included in his advertisement of 8 August 1868 (*Journal*, p.1) the 'planchette', a French Ouija board. Gleason's colourful marketing style was apparent when he announced his holiday sale in December 1869 as a 'Display of Useful and Beautiful Articles' (*Journal*, 20 December, p.2), and waxed lyrical in an 1870 advertisement, 'Without books God is silent; justice dormant, natural science at a stand, philosophy lame, letters dumb and all things involved in a cimmerian darkness' (*Journal*, 14 October, p.2). Gleason's advertisements were distinctive for another reason as well: they featured his original insignia - an owl perched inside the letter 'G.' Other new bookstores emerging in post-war Columbus were Andrews & Hull (1867) at 55 South High Street, and Hubbard & Jones at 47 South High, which would become Elliot Jones & Co. in 1876.

As Elliott Jones was restructuring his book firm, Columbus's newspaper was becoming more actively involved in the book trade. Comly & Smith, publishers of the *Ohio State Journal*, began offering a line of 'practical books suited to the wants of architects, carpenters, builders.'⁵⁴ On Independence Day, marking the nation's centennial, the *Journal* began offering new subscribers a copy of Jacob Studer's *History of Columbus* at a discounted price. (The newspaper had purchased all remaining copies.)

In 1875 Isaac Aston left Randall to open his own book and wallpaper store at No. 3 Neil House Block. Among the first titles he advertised for sale was Josiah Gilbert Holland's novel *Sevenoaks* (1875), which boasted an advance sale of twenty-five thousand copies. Holland

(1819-81) had been popular in the 1850s for writing a series of 'Letters to Young People' under the pen-name 'Timothy Titcomb.' Randall continued on at 109 South High Street.

RETURN AND FINAL DEPARTURE

1875 was notable for another reason - it was the year in which Isaac Whiting resumed active bookselling. After twenty-three years of devotion primarily to publishing, Whiting was again listed in Columbus's business directory as a bookseller as well, now located at 87 South High Street. Whiting's name, however, would not reappear in *the Journal's* pages for another three years.

Book advertisements had been appearing in the *Ohio State Journal* with decreasing frequency since the 1850s. The nature of the advertisements themselves had also changed: individual book titles were no longer listed, catalogue-style. Even mentioning a single title had become somewhat uncommon. Instead, a bookseller might merely note the subject areas in which he stocked books for sale, along with the wallpaper styles he featured (friezes and dados were especially popular). Given this state of affairs, Isaac Whiting's return to the *Journal's* advertising pages on 3 April 1878 was immediately noticeable. For the purpose of closing up the business' Whiting slashed publisher's prices by fifty per cent. Six-volume sets of *Hayden's Geological Surveys* and *The Geological Reports of Ohio*, as well as *Antiquities of Ohio* were mentioned for sale. Whiting also offered books for sale on theology, history, and the classics (Hebrew, Greek, Latin and French) at his shop located over the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company at 87 South High. Yet, almost as an afterthought, Whiting informed interested readers that he would purchase Valuable, secondhand books in good order.⁵⁵ Though preparing to end his business, it appears that Whiting would not completely sever his association with books.

August 1878 found H. W. Derby back in Columbus at 97 South High Street, advertising for sale *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) by journalist-turned-explorer Henry M. Stanley (1841-1904). Derby had been involved in the New York art scene during the 1860s as the proprietor of a gallery and a dealer in paintings, and would return to Cincinnati once more before spending his last years in Columbus as an agent for Harpers.⁵⁶

Even as pioneering booksellers like Whiting and Derby were fading from the scene, new bookstores were opening their doors for the first time. Uhlmann & Glock, specializing in German and English school-books, opened at 218 South High Street. Synold's Bookstore made its debut at 126 North High Street earnestly declaring, 'No bribes offered but largest discounts on school books.'⁵⁷ In February 1879 Randall sold the book and stationery departments of his business to A. H. Smythe who would continue to operate under the Randall name. Randall would devote his energies exclusively to wallpaper (*Journal*, 8 February, p.1).

On 5 March 1879 Isaac Whiting's final advertisement appeared in the *Ohio State Journal* (p.2). This time no mention is made of ending the business. The advertisement does, however, remind the reader that Isaac Whiting was essentially an academic bookman. Whiting's service to the lawyer, the doctor, the scientist, the clergyman and the teacher was the backbone of his business for fifty years. True, he diversified, as did the other book-dealers in central Ohio, selling stationery, cutlery and, on occasion, more esoteric products. The heart of Whiting's collection, however, had always been academic in nature. His advertisement of 5 March listed eighteen separate volumes for sale: eight geological, three historical, two botanical, two agricultural, one geographical, one archaeological and one ornithological. The books' authors included geologist and educator James Merrill Safford (1822-1907), Professor of Geology and Natural History at

Vanderbilt University; traveller and author John Ross Browne (1821-75); ornithologist Elliott Coues (1842-99), co-founder of the American Ornithologists' Union, who also occupied the chair of Anatomy at Columbia University; geologist and philosopher John Wesley Powell (1834-1902), director of the United States Geological Survey; palaeobotanist Leo Lesquereux (1806-89), whose deafness did not prevent him from becoming the first member elected to the National Academy of Sciences; geologist David Dale Owen (1807-60), whose survey of eleven thousand square miles in Wisconsin and Iowa was historic in scope;⁵⁸ and editor Evert Augustus Duyckinck (1816-78), who helped produce many of the most highly regarded American literary classics of the nineteenth century. For some Columbus booksellers, books had become a secondary commodity, supporting wallpaper sales. Whiting, however, remained a purveyor of high culture on the frontier.

In August 1880 H. W. Derby and George W. Gleason were selling flags and Chinese lanterns, helping Columbus celebrate the fifteenth-year reunion of Civil War veterans. Gleason declared his bookstore 'Reunion Headquarters.'⁵⁹ The Civil War, however, could not have held many fond memories for Isaac Whiting. Once the dominant bookseller in Columbus, he watched Randall & Aston rise to that position during the war. Personal misfortune also occurred during those years. Orrell, his wife of twenty-eight years, died on 10 November 1863. As the years passed, Whiting devoted an increasing amount of time to his first love, the Episcopal Church. Isaac Whiting died on 23 August 1880. Episcopalian Bishop Jagger eulogized him before a convention of the Southern Ohio Diocese: 'His well-stored mind and sound judgment qualified him to be wise in counsel and, though quiet and unassuming, he was actively interested through a long life in all the work of the church.'⁶⁰ As Columbus's pioneer bookseller, Whiting laid the groundwork for a burgeoning cultural industry.

Isaac Whiting's son, Augustus Newton, occupied a prominent position in the Columbus community until his death in 1903. Educated at Kenyon College, Augustus entered the oil business as part of the firm of Buttles & Whiting in Cleveland and P. Rhoades & Co. in Columbus. Also active in the Episcopal Church, Augustus was instrumental in founding St Philip's Mission in 1891, a black congregation on Lexington Avenue in Columbus.⁶¹ After the death of Augustus, his widow, Ellen Gilbert Whiting, originally of Worthington, continued to occupy the Whiting house on South Third Street until 1920. She then relocated to an apartment at 26 Parsons Avenue where she resided until 1934.

While the Whiting book business ended in 1880, the mid western book trade pioneered by Whiting continued to grow, diversify and thrive. David Brainerd Cooke, H. W. Derby's young apprentice who accompanied him to Cincinnati in 1844, learned the book business in much the same way that Derby had learned it from Whiting. Following the book trade west, as Derby had done, Cooke moved to Chicago in 1852, opening a bookstore at 135 Lake Street, on Chicago's Booksellers Row. In 1869 Cooke formed a publishing house with William Brantley Keen, originally from Philadelphia. Keen & Cooke prospered for the next eight years, even successfully rebounding from the great Chicago fire in October 1871. Surviving also the Panic of 1873, the firm eventually failed four years later.⁶²

Pioneer bookseller and publisher Isaac N. Whiting set a standard of culture and integrity in central Ohio with which others were proud to identify. One never reads a reference to either the man or the business that is not laudatory, invariably recognizing the seminal nature of the enterprise at a time when Columbus was a new village on the western frontier. As model and mentor, Whiting influenced the book business throughout the West both during and after his half-century as Columbus's best-known bookman.

NOTES

- 1 Helen Moriarity, 'Literary Life', in Osman Castle Hooper, *History of the City of Columbus, Ohio*, Columbus: Memorial Publishing Company, 1920?, p.259.
- 2 Alfred E. Lee, *History of the City of Columbus, Capital of Ohio*, New York 1892, Vol. I, p.369. Moriarity, op. cit, p.259.
- 3 *Ohio State Journal* (hereafter cited as *OSJ*), 14 December 1831, p.3.
- 4 Walter Sutton, *The Western Book Trade: Cincinnati as a Nineteenth-Century Publishing and Book Trade Center*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1961, p.177.
- 5 *OSJ*, 2 February 1833, p.3.
- 6 *History of Columbus, Franklin County Ohio, Pictorial and Biographical*, New York 1909, p.266.
- 7 *OSJ*, 13 April 1833, p.3.
- 8 *OSJ*, 12 April 1834, p.1.
- 9 *OSJ*, 30 March 1833, p.2.
- 10 *OSJ*, 2 January 1833, p.1.
- 11 *OSJ*, 7 June 1834, p.4.
- 12 The *Ohio State Journal* experienced several name changes during its many years of publication, but the variations are generally all considered to be part of the *Ohio State Journal* family.
- 13 *OSJ*, 22 December 1837, p.1.
- 14 Wilfred E. Binkley, *American Political Parties: Their Natural History*, New York 1965, p.174.
- 15 *OSJ*, 4 April 1838, p.4.
- 16 *OSJ*, 13 September 1834, p.3.
- 17 *OSJ*, 29 November 1834, p.3.
- 18 *OSJ*, 13 June 1838, p.1.
- 19 *OSJ*, 28 December 1838, p.3.
- 20 Sutton, op. cit, pp.134-49.
- 21 D. B. Cooke, 'My Memories of the Book Trade', *The Publisher's Weekly*, 11 March 1876, p.321.
- 22 *OSJ*, 3 April 1839, p.4.
- 23 *OSJ*, 15 January 1840, p.3.
- 24 *OSJ*, 2 October 1839, p.3.
- 25 Sutton, op. cit., pp.166-7.
- 26 Cooke, op. cit., p.321.
- 27 *OSJ*, 14 July 1841, p.3.
- 28 *OSJ*, 13 July 1842, p.4.
- 29 *OSJ*, 21 December 1842, p.3.
- 30 *OSJ*, 14 June 1843, p.3.
- 31 *OSJ*, 21 June 1843, p.4.
- 32 *OSJ*, 18 October 1843, p.3.
- 33 *OSJ*, 10 January 1844, p.4.
- 34 Cooke, op. cit, p.321.
- 35 *OSJ* Supplement, 5 March 1845.
- 36 *OSJ*, 7 June 1848, p.4.
- 37 *OSJ*, 3 May 1848, p.4.
- 38 *OSJ*, 14 June 1848, p.4.
- 39 *OSJ*, 21 June 1848, p.4.
- 40 *OSJ*, 28 June 1848, p.4.
- 41 *U.S. Census, 1850*, Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio, M432, Roll 679, Whiting, p.343, Huntington, p.341.
- 42 *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York 1964, Vol. VI, p.422. (Hereafter cited as *DAB*.)
- 43 *OSJ*, 3 December 1850, p.4.
- 44 *OSJ*, 28 September 1852, p.4.

- 45 *OSJ*, 15 August 1853, p.3.
- 46 *OSJ*, 23 September 1853, p.2.
- 47 *OSJ*, 1 April 1854, p.3.
- 48 It appears that Whiting occupied this spot prior to formation of his partnership with Huntington in 1841. Precise locations are difficult to ascertain, however, because address numbering was a relatively new concept.
- 49 *OSJ*, 30 August 1859, p.3.
- 50 *OSJ*, 23 and 25 May 1860, p.4, and 8 June 1860, p.2, respectively.
- 51 *OSJ*, 27 April 1860, p.2.
- 52 Sutton, op. cit., p. 145.
- 53 *OSJ*, 18 April 1864, p.3.
- 54 *OSJ*, 21 June 1876, p.3.
- 55 *OSJ*, 3 April 1878, p.2.
- 56 Sutton, op. cit., pp.145-6.
- 57 *OSJ*, 7 September 1878, p.4.
- 58 *DAB*, Vol. VII, p.116.
- 59 *OSJ*, 6 August 1880, p.1.
- 60 The Builders of Franklin County', *Bulletin of the Franklin County Historical Society*, Vol. 3 No. 11, October 1951, p.37.
- 61 *History of Columbus, Franklin County Ohio, Pictorial and Biographical*, p.267.
- 62 Madeleine B. Stern, 'Keen & Cooke: Prairie Publishers', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 42, December 1949, pp.424-45.